







LITERATURE

OF

THE CHEROKEES

ALSO

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND THE STORY OF THEIR GENESIS.

BY GEORGE E. FOSTER, AUTHOR OF "SEQUOYAH, THE AMERICAN CADMUS".



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LITERATURE

OF

THE CHEROKEES.

Brinton, in his book entitled "Aboriginal Authors," remarks: —

"When even a quite intelligent person hears about 'Aboriginal American Literature,' he is very excusable for asking: What is meant by the term? Where is the literature? In fine is there any such thing?"

The announcement that a Bibliography of the Cherokees would be published by the writer caused expressions of astonishment that such a work could be compiled at all. "A Bibliography," says Brande, is a knowledge of books in regard to their authors, subjects, editions, and history." On this ground it is safe

to ascribe to the Cherokees a greater bibliography than to any other Aborigines tribe.

§ I. FOLK LORE.

Brinton finds a strong literary faculty in the Native mind, indicated by a vivid imagination, a love of narration, and an ample, appropriate and logically developed vocabulary.

All the above applies to the Cherokees, but the folk lore of their tribe, has not been preserved; only now and then do we find a recorded tradition. They have but few "tales of talking animals, mythical giants, dwarfs, subtle women, potent magicians." That they had such lore is proved by the "Buttrick Collections." That the traditions were lost was owing to the early doing away of the custom of collecting on feast day around the "old man," who recited the traditions of the past. Neither was this race so fortunate, like the Chippewas, as to have a man of Schoolcraft's genius

intermarry with and thus preserve the legends and traditions of their people. But they were doubly fortunate; there was raised up for them a man, who became the "Father of Learning," to his people. This was SE-QUO-YAH, who himself unlearned gave them an alphabet. Before this they had the unwritten literature; they had a historic literature as is seen in the "Buttrick Collections;" these may be styled also religious; they had an unwritten code of Laws for years fully understood, for it was carefully handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation, and was first written out in Roman character in 1820 to be printed soon after in letters of their own invention. They had also a dramatic literature. Brinton cites under the head of "Dramatic Literature," an instance. "A pantomime where the actors appeared in costume was seen by Lieutenant Timberlake among the Cherokees in the middle of the last century, which he spoke of as 'very diverting,' where some of the

actors dressed in the skins of wild animals, and the simulated contest between the pretended beasts and the men who hunted them being the motives of the contest."*

We cite a later instance: when John Ridge, Elias Boudinot and other Cherokee youth hereafter mentioned, attended the Mission School at Cornwall. Conn., they arranged a drama, and it was acted in the school and called a "Cherokee Council of War."

§ 2. NOMENCLATURE.

Why is it that members of the Aborigines tribes have English Names? The answer is a simple one. It was the custom, when Mission schools were established to give to the children, who attended, an English name. Hence it is that so many English names are perpetuated among the Cherokees. The Boudinot family, now so well known in the Cherokee Nation, is a good example. A

*The Memoirs of Lieutenant H. Timberlake. London, 1765.

bright Indian called Waite, who went to the Mission School, was named for that famous missionary Elias Boudinot. The name is still worthily perpetuated. It was the custom, also, to baptize even adult Indians with English instead of their native names. Frequent instances are cited in Mission reports. Hence English names are found most frequently in civilized tribes, and by these changes often unrecorded, the geneology of many Indian families has been lost. Cherokee names formerly contained in them some neat bit of history or biography. The translated names-"'He-who-walks-on-the-mountaintop," "Nettle Carrier," "The Bark," "Big Cabin," "Dick Justice,' "The Glass," "Going Snake," "Path Killer," "Sour Mush," "Big Bear," and "The Raven," * carry their own appropriate stories of possession, characteristic or achievement.

^{*&}quot;The Raven" is one of the Cherokee favourite war names. Carolina and Georgia remember Quorinnah, the Raven of Huwhase-town. He was one of the most daring warriors of the whole nation, and by far the most intelligent, and this name or war appelative admirably suited his well-known

"The names of animals were imitations of the sounds they produced: the names of trees signified the sound they appeared to make; thus making the name a description of the thing, -according to what is believed to be the primitive origin of names. Certain Indian names of bodies of water are very beautiful,—for instance, the familiar name Min-ne-ha-ha, meaning 'laughing water,' as the Poet Longfellow has correctly rendered it. Ath-a-bas-ca is rendered the 'meeting of many waters;' Minnesota, 'sky tinted waters.' A complete understanding of Indian words might reveal matters of highest importance to the linguist."*

§ 3. SPANISH INFLUENCES.

There is little doubt but most of the unwritten, religious literature of the Cherokees, and that finally collated in the Butrick Collection, is traceable to the influence of the devout Cabeca de Vaca. He lived character." The name points out an indefatigable, keen, successful warrior."—Adair.

^{*}Indian Myths, by Helen R. Emerson.

at an early date among the Southern Indians and they believed him to be divine. He taught them the story of the Genesis. and while among them, he says, they began the custom so long observed among the Cherokees of worshipping by bowing toward the rising sun. It is not strange that the new teaching of Cabeca de Vaca should have spread rapidly in the new world. Tribes mingled with each other, the story of the invasion of the pale-faces and their conquest were fertile subjects of conversation, and the story of the divine Cabeca de Vaca concerning the creation, the flood and other matters was spread from tribe to tribe, each tribe varying the detail according to their own crude ideas, the stories changing by verbal repetition until the missionaries commenced their work when they were collected as original.

The comparison of the early Cherokee religious traditions with those repeated in the Spanish towns in Mexico seems to indicate that they had a common origin.

Nine years did Cabeca de Vaca reside among the Southern Indians, always exerting an influence for good. He said: "We told them by signs, which they understood, that in heaven, there was One whom we called God, who created the heaven and the earth, and that we ourselves adored Him and held Him for Lord and did what he commanded us.* * That from his hand came all good things, and if they should do as we did much good would follow."

§ 4. THE LAW.

"Some time after the red man entered the wilderness, they came to a very high mountain, and God came down upon the mountain, and their leader went up and conversed with God, or, rather, as their fathers said, with the son of God. They supposed, therefore, that God had a son, as it was said to be the Son of God that came down on the mountain, and the top of the mountain was bright like the sun. There God gave their leader a law, written on a smooth stone. The reason of this being written on stone was as follows:

"God gave our first parents a law, to be handed down verbally to posterity, but when the language was destroyed and men began to quarrel and kill each other they forgot this law, and therefore God wrote his law on a stone, a smooth slate stone, that it might not be lost. Their leader also received other instructions from God, which he wrote on skins."

§ 5. PARCHMENT.

"Red Bird, an old Cherokee, used to say the Cherokees had a white post set up near the council house, and on the top of it was fastened a white skin, or piece of white cloth, to remind them to keep their hearts as white as that was, also to remind them of the commandments which were once given to their fathers, and written on white (something white). This was done when he was a boy, as he told his son Situagi." So said Deer-in-the-Water.

§ 6. THE BOOK.

"God gave the red man a book and

paper, and told him to write, but he merely made marks on the paper, and as he could not read or write, the Lord gave him a bow and arrows, and gave the book to the white man." So said Kotiski.

Mr. Boudinot, speaking of the Indians "It is said among their principal or 'beloved' men, that they have it handed down from their ancestors, that the book which the white people have, was once theirs; that, while they had it, they prospered exceedingly; but that the white people bought it of them, and learned many things from it; while the Indians lost credit, offended the Great Spirit, and suffered exceedingly from the neighboring nations; that the Great Spirit took pity on them, and directed them to this country; that on their way they came to a great river, which they could not pass, where God dried up the waters, and they passed over dry shod."

§ 7. PRAYERS.

Elias Boudinot, ex-editor of the Cherokee Phœnix, thus wrote of their prayers

in 1827: "The Cherokees have had no established religion of their own, and perhaps to this circumstance we may attribute, in part, the facilities with which missionaries have pursued their ends. They cannot be called idolaters, for they never worshipped images. They believed in a Supreme Being, the Creator of all, the God of the white, the red and the black man. They also believed in the existence of an evil spirit, who resided, as they thought, in the setting sun, the future place of all who in their life time had done iniquitously. Their prayers were addressed alone to the Supreme Being, and if written would fill a large volume, and display much sincerity, beauty and sublimity. When the ancient customs of the Cherokees were in their full force, no warrior thought himself secure, unless he had addressed his guardian angel; no hunter could hope for success, unless before the rising sun, he had asked the assistance of his God, and on his return at eve, he had offered his sacrifice to Him."

§ 8. SYMBOLS.

The structures used for dwellings among the Indians were plastered on the interior with red or white clay, on which were portrayed various objects and symbols. On the color of the wall depended the color of paint used in the pictography; if white, the pictures were red; but if the wall was red, they were blue. Great variety was disclosed,—animals, plants, trees, flowers, men with animal heads, and vice versa. These hieroglyphics, states Mr. Squier, were made in bold and firm outlines, conveying meaning, passion and admonition.*

§ 9. MORAVIAN INFLUENCES.

As early as the year 1740 attempts were made by the United Brethren to spread abroad the truths of the gospel among the Cherokees, but these and several succeeding endeavors were frustrated by repeated wars among the different

^{*}From Indian Myths by Ellen R. Emerson.

Indian tribes, as well as subsequent hostilities between the English and Americans. Little progress was made, but up to 1772 the brethren had baptized in North America 720 Indians, many of whom were Cherokees. In 1799 the Cherokees made special demands for teachers. Abraham Steiner and F. C. von Schweinitz visited that part of the country, and being favorably received, paid a second visit to the country, and a council was called at Tellico on the River Tennessee. Three or four thousand Cherokees were present. The result of the council was that the chiefs of the upper towns declared their approbation of the proposal, but the lower chiefs would not agree to it. Nevertheless in 1801, A. Steiner and Gottlieb Byhan took up their abode with a Mr. Vann, and schools were opened, from which many distinguished Cherokees went forth. Several of the scholars were sons of chiefs, who appeared very desirous that their children should be instructed. The young people

rewarded the labors of their teachers by making good progress in reading both English and Cherokee. writing and arithmetic, and by the pleasure they took in learning hymns and texts of Scripture. The endeavors of the Brethren were greatly facilitated by the kind exertions of the agent of the Cherokee Nation. Col. Meigs.

§ IO ORATORY.

The eloquence of the Indian is more often talked of than understood. The Indian orators had wonderful influence in peace and war. This is illustrated in the recorded speeches of Oconostota, the great Cherokee warrior, or Attakullakula, their Sachem for peace. The orators were well-made men, of a powerful voice and ready delivery. Each young warrior, when he had returned from a battle or an embassy, had a right, and in fact was expected, to give a minute account of every thing he had seen or done. From these specimens of speaking, the

sagacious sons of the torest, judged with great-shrewdness of the respective merits of the aspirants for distinction. The best speakers were encouraged and selected for other enterprises. To improve their minds. they listened hours together to the historical legends of the aged warrior and patriot, and treasured up the events he related or sentiments he uttered. The student in oratory was careful to remember the best figures of rhetoric. which were used by the aged in illustrating their sentiments; hence a set of phrases have descended among them for ages. such as "to bury the hatchet," and "to smoke the calumet of peace." These and many other phrases thus became fixtures in their language, and have no doubtful meaning.*

§ II. NUMERALS.

Se-quo-yah, having invented letters, did not stop there, but carried his discoveries to numbers. Of course he knew

^{*}Hinton's History of the United States.

nothing of the Arabic digits, nor of the power of Roman letters in the science. The Cherokees had mental numerals to one hundred, and had words for all numbers up to that; but they had no signs or characters to assist them in enumerating, adding, subtracting, multiplying, or dividing. He reflected upon this until he had created their elementary principle in his mind; but he was first obliged to make words to express his meaning, and then signs to explain it. By this process, he soon had a clear conception of numbers up to a million. His great difficulty was at the threshold, to fix the powers of the signs according to their places. When this was overcome, his next step was in adding up his different numbers in order to put down the fraction of the decimal, and give the whole number to his next place. Knapp says in his "Lectures on American Literature" from which the above facts are taken, that-"When I knew him, he had overcome all these difficulties and was quite a ready arithmetician in the fundamental rules. This was the result of my interview; and I can safely say, that I have seldom met a man of more shrewdness than See-quah-yah".

§ 12. VISIONS.

The Cherokees have many accounts of visions. There is little doubt but what the first Cherokee Hymn that was written down by the missionaries was the result of a vision, as will be shown further on. The accounts of visions were of people supposed to be dead, but afterward reviving, related what they had seen in the land of shades. These visions had a tendency to enforce the practice of virtue.

§ 13. SONGS.

Songs accompanied the dances of the early Cherokee. They were martial, bacchanalian and amorous. They had moral songs much esteemed and the precepts practiced and these answered the purpose of religious lectures. Many of these songs were borrowed from the Choctaws, who in early times were eminent for their poetry and music. Every Cherokee town strove

to excel every other in composing new songs, and by a custom they had at least one new song at every annual busk or the feast of first fruits. The doleful songs or elegies had a quick and sensible effect on the passions and disclosed a lively affection and sensibility. Their countenances at first dejected, again, by an easy transition became gently elevated, as if in solemn address or supplication, accompanied with a tremulous, sweet, lamentable voice. When listening to these songs, a stranger would be for a moment lost to himself, as it were taking upon himself the expressed joy or sorrow of the singer. Their war songs were a loose sort of poetry. Their love songs contained no more than an affirmation that the young man loves the young woman and will be "uneasy," according to their own expression, if he does not obtain her. The above facts are found in the Memoir of Lieutenant Timberlake and the Travels of Bartram.

§ 14. ANNALS OF VICTORY.

It was the prevailing custom of Chero-

kees to engrave the story of their victory on some neighboring tree, or to set up some token of it near the field of battle; to this they pointed with pride, as a history of their victory, and especially of their enemies' defeat and of the slaughter in their ranks that they had made.

§15. BOON'S RECORD.

One white man left a record in a similar way in the old Cherokee country. In the year 1853, it was still to be seen on a beech tree standing in sight and east of the stage road leading from Jonesville to Blountsville, and in the valley of Boon's Creek, a tributary of Watauga.

D. Boon

CillED A. BAR On

Tree

in ThE

yEAR

1760

The above is taken from the Annals of Tennessee, by Ramsey.

§ 15. THE CHALLENGE.

It was the custom of the Cherokee In-

dian to leave in the enemies' country, a club, in shape something the form of a war club or a cricket bat, with many of their warlike exploits written upon it, and the enemy accepted the challenge by at once bringing it back into the Cherokee Country. So said Henry Timberlake, who accompanied the three Cherokees to lay the crown before King George.

§ 16. ORIGIN OF THE FIRST CHEROKEE HYMN.

"The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want." More than sixty years ago, Missionary Chamberlin, translating the passage, repeated it slowly to his little Cherokee scholar, Lydia Lowrey.

"He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; he leadeth me beside the still waters," were the first words that really attracted toward God, the thoughts of that nature-loving Cherokee girl, who at that time was numbered among the very brightest of that then uncivilized tribe.

Up to that time there had been no native hymns, and the songs she sang were

English Missionary hymns, or the ruder murmurs that nature taught her.

And when the lessons of the Sabbath morning were over, the Cherokee maiden bounded away over the cleared lot and threw herself beside the brook which was rippling in the deep forest.

"He leadeth me beside the still waters," she involuntarily repeated as she sat down beside the brook. And then she fell to wondering about the Great Spirit of the Pale Face, and then she fell asleep. As she slept she dreamed; and wonderful indeed, has been the result of many dreams of the Cherokee People.

She dreamed of a grove of wonderful beauty, in which had gathered a vast concourse of Cherokee people. They were seated around in a semi-circle, and in their midst stood a wonderful being, giving praise to the Great Spirit, the whole congregation repeating again and again the words after him, in joyful Cherokee song. And when the Cherokee girl awoke, she looked about her in surprise, for she then saw no congregation,

and heard no music but the brook's murmur, and the song-words of the singing birds. But the song of her dreams still filled her mind, and she went and told Missionary Chamberlin her dream. And he asked her to tell him the exact words which the congregation of her dream had chanted, and she repeated the following in Cherokee, of which this is a free translation:

"God and I are friends,
I will not be afraid of Him.
Though all the world be against me,
I will still be confident."

This was the first Cherokee hymn, and it was the result of this dream of little Lydia Lowrey. This stanza was soon followed by others, and was a popular hymn in all the early religious meetings among the Cherokee people. It acted like a key to unlock the language, until now there is quite a collection of hymns for church music, and among those who sing them to-day, there are children of the same Indian dreamer; and a grandson, it is said, is a presiding elder in the

Cherokee Nation; but she who dreamed has long since passed beyond the green pastures of earth, over the still waters of the creek, through the deep forest, and perhaps is now one of that mysterious band that she saw in her vision more than three score years agone. Who can tell?*

The Cherokees have a song of friendship which in their language reads thus:

Kan-al-li eh ne was to
Yai ne no wai ai e noo ho
Ti mai tan na Klai ne was tu
Yai ne wai E-noo wai hoo.
You resemble a friend of mine,
And you look like a friend to me;
I think that we are brothers kind,
And brothers we will be.

§ 17. INFLUENCES OF THE A. B. C. F. M.

In 1817, the American Board of Congregational Foreign Missions established schools among the Cherokees at Brainerd and also a Mission school at Cornwall,

*The above was written by the author of this book, for the "Woman's Magazine" from which it is reprinted without change.

Connecticut. To these schools were sent the brightest youth, that were then attending or had been partially educated at the Moravian schools. The students, who had already made good progress, continued to develop surprising faculties. Their advancement was rapid. They pursued their studies with diligence, and on leaving these institutions they labored with the missionaries to translate the Scriptures and various text books into Cherokee. In the publication of these works the Board gave considerable assistance up to the year 1862, when they not only withdrew their mission work, but printing in Cherokee, almost entirely ceased except for the publication of their laws and on one page of their National paper. Among the prominent Cherokee young men, who helped translate the Scriptures and other works, were John Arch, (At-see), John Ridge, Charles Hicks, George Lowrey, David Brown, Elias Boudinot, John Huss, Jesse Bushyhead and Stephen Foreman.

§ 18. ENGLISH TEXT BOOKS AT BRAINERD.

It is of interest to know what English

books were used at the Brainerd school. Below is the list in 1826.

Old and New Testament.

Webster's Tables.

Woodbridge's Geography.

Cumming's First Lessons in Geography.

Webster's Spelling Book.

Raven and Dove.

Marshall's Tables of Definitions.

Colburn's Arithmetic.

§ 19. THE PICKERING ALPHABET.

In 1826, an effort was made to print some Cherokee works in the Pickering alphabet. This was used in translating works into the various languages used at the stations of the American Board, especially in the Sandwich Islands. This alphabet being nearly a perfect one was easily learned. The Board, however, was not ready to print Cherokee in the Pickering alphabet. Before they were ready, Sequo-yah, one of their own number, invented for them an alphabet of far greater simplicity. Then it was too late to use

it. National pride came in and to have used the Pickering alphabet would have been hazardous to mission work. The manuscripts of the Pickering alphabet were abandoned and that of Se-quo-yah or George Gist was formally adopted by the Council.

§ 20. SCOTCH INFLUENCES.

"There is," said Ridge Pascal, "the best blood of Scotland flowing in the veins of the Rosses, the Adairs, the Mc-Leods, McDonalds, and many others. Some of our people can trace their ancestry back to the Scottish nobility, but they are prouder of their Cherokee than their noble Scotch blood." He explains the prevalence of Scottish names among this people as follows: "My mother, who was a full blood learned from my grandfather, who was the great chief, named Ridge, that, before the Revolutionary War, a number of Scotch nobility, who were unfriendly to the crown of England emigrated to America to save their heads and settled in the Carolinas. When the

Revolutionary War broke out, a majority of the descendants of these Scotch families became Tories. When Great Britain was defeated, and her armies expelled from American soil, the Scotchmen, unable to return to England and afraid of the victorious Americans, pushed out on the Cherokee reserve and settled among the Indians. In course of time they were absorbed by marriage and by adoption into the Nation."*

\$ 20. THE WHITE ELEMENT.

One of the leading questions in the Cherokee debating societies is upon the value of white blood in the history of their civilization. As a usual thing the Cherokee half-breed is as loyal to the white blood as the red in his veins, but he always traces his red lineage with pride. S. S. Stephens of Vinita, Cherokee Nation thus writes to his countrymen in the "Indian Chieftain" of Oct. 28th, 1886.—

"The Saxon element is fast becoming the motive power. It has set in motion

^{*}Cincinnati Graphic News.

the wheel of the manufacturer; opened the best farms in the nation; raised the largest herds of cattle; built our colleges and given existence, character and efficiency to our common schools and published the Old and New Testament in the Cherokee language. Go from district to district and you will find this same white man's character telling on the industry and enterprise, the thritt and the prosperity of the people. Don't cry out, half-breeds, and say that it is not so. Think before you speak, and you will find that your father or mother was of English descent. Ask who taught our schools, thirty and forty years ago; who are the principal teachers of our seminaries, who are our lawyers, physicians, preachers, most thriving farmers, mechanics and merchants. I have given you the domestic fruits of our white men who have by assimilation and intermarriage been an advantage to the Cherokee people. The white element of the country has become an important factor in our

civil and religious institutions. Truth is a strong leaven and though it is unseen, it is sure to leaven the lump. Can we ride on the crested wave, and breast the roaring storm without our white fathers and mothers?"

But it is no argument against the Cherokee Nation as a native people that the white men may be the greatest cropproducers, and that some white men there engage in mechanical pursuits; or that a Cherokee can engage a white man to till the soil and himself live on the rental. The Cherokees, naturally indolent, have become in point of fact, an industrious people, while the descendants of the oldstock race in the States. naturally industrious, seem to be growing more indolent. It has taken thousands of years for the whites to attain their present state of civilization, while the first germs of Cherokee civilization reach back hardly a century. English, Scotch, German and Irish intermarry in the States, and their offspring go to make

up the American people, who compose our civilization, yet we do not hear it cited that our civilization is any the less American that it is so; neither should we consider the civilization of the Cherokees less a Cherokee civilization because white men and white women have intermarried with this race. Intermarriage with other Indian tribes produced no like results.

§ 21. BAPTIST INFLUENCES.

In 1817 Rev. Humphrey Posey was the first appointed missionary from the Baptist convention to the land of the Cherokees. He established two or three temporary schools, which were abandoned to allow him to make a tour among the Indian tribes, but in 1820, with an able corps of teachers, he established a station at Valley Towns, on the banks of the Hiwassee, just within the southern boundary of North Carolina. Eighty acres of land were enclosed as a mission farm, which was supplied with stock and the necessary implements of agriculture.

Buildings were erected, and a school of fifty children was opened, in which instruction was daily given in the Scriptures and in useful knowledge, and the arts of civilized life. Other stations were soon established, and the grand work went on. Among the Indian converts of superior intelligence and worth, who at this period became connected with the churches of the mission, were three whose names became well known as the names of Christian ministers. These were Oganaza, Kaneeka, afterward called John Wickliffe, and Jesse Bushyhead. Each of these men had an important influence on Cherokee literature and the literary attainments of this people. Through them many portions of the Scripture were first translated into Cherokee. Fuller particulars of the translation, etc., will appear in subsequent pages. The Baptists have never given up their mission work in the Cherokee nation, and their work is still going on, and the blessing cometh down. The Methodists have also added their mite in the way of schools and mission churches. The work of the Moravians, Baptists, Methodists, and schools of the American Board, did much toward preparing the Cherokees for their written literature, which was due to Se-quo-yah, an unlearned half-breed, who gave them the first alphabet which had been invented by any aboriginal nation for over a thousand years.

\$ 22. NATIVE ADAPTABILITY.

The Cherokees more than any other Aboriginal tribe was willing to be the recipient of instruction from the whites. Said Elias Boudinot on this subject in 1824:—"It is worthy of remark that in no ignorant country have the missionaries experienced less trouble and difficulty in spreading a knowledge of the Bible. Here they have been welcomed by the proper authorities of the Nation, and their persons have been protected."

Said Mr. Worcester two years after:— "Their enthusiasm is kindled, and great

numbers have learned to read and write. They are circulating hymns and portions of the Scripture, and are writing letters every day." Said Mr. Thompson, in 1830, "Could it be known by all the friends of missions with what avidity they seek reading, they would urge us to give them more as fast as possible. There is a spirit of inquiry in all parts of the Nation." Says Mr. Evarts, in 1827, concerning the school at Brainerd: "Not a word was missed by the whole school in spelling. One of the boys, ten or eleven years of age, who had been in school less than five months, not having previously learned the alphabet, was spelling in words of three syllables, and had never missed but a single word. Considering what it is for children to learn to spell in a foreign language, and how very ambiguous and deceitful the English alphabet is, these facts certainly prove an extraordinary attention of the mind." Said the Committee of the American Board the same year: "The experience of an

other year enables the committee to say, that the transforming efficacy of the Christian religion, both upon individuals and upon neighborhoods, is now seen in different parts of the Cherokee Nation. If the same efficacy should pervade every part, a most lovely branch of the church universal would here unfold its flowers and dispense its fruit."

§ 23. THE SE-QUO-YAN ERA.

We have followed the intellectual growth of the Cherokees, from the barbaric, through the traditionary periods, and to the advent of missionaries in 1801, which must form the First Epoch in our discussion of their literature. The Second epoch covers the period from 1801 to 1826, when Se-quo-yah gave them an alphabet. The first epoch was indeed one of ignorance, but in one quarter of a century they developed a fair state of civilization. Schools were in progress at Brainerd, Carmel, Creek-path, High-tower, Willstown, Haweis and Can-

dy's Creek, under the auspices of the American Board. The Baptists had schools at Valley Towns and Tinsawatte, and the Methodists had four Missionaries laboring in the Nation, and the Moravians still kept their school at Spring-place. More than this, the students who had attended the mission school at Cornwall, Ct., had all returned and were doing a good work among the people. Such was the condition of affairs in the Cherokee Nation when Se-quo-yah's alphabet was accepted by the Council. So fully has the biography of Se-quo-yah been written out in the first of this series,* that details will not be entered into in this work. He came at the most opportune time. Portions of the Scriptures and other literature had been reduced to Cherokee in Roman form. several missionaries had in a measure analyzed the language, and the Cherokee youth, from the mission schools, were good interpreters. At least three precious years were lost by the Cherokees after the

^{*}See "Se-quo-yah, the American Cadmus and Modern Moses."

invention before they would accept the alphabet, but once accepted it became a national institution, for which they fought with as much earnestness as they at first opposed it. Said Mr. Worcester in 1827: "Tell them now of printing in any other character, and you throw cold water on the fire you are trying to kindle. To persuade them to learn that other would be in general a hopeless task. Print a book in Se-quo-yah's alphabet, and hundreds, both of adults and children, can read it the moment that it is given them."

§ 24. GOVERNMENT GROWTH.

For several years the Cherokees had striven to imitate the whites in the management of their affairs, and the Councils were well conducted. In 1810 the Council abolished clans, and unanimously passed an act of oblivion for all lives for which they had been indebted one to another. In 1820 the Nation was reorganized, and by a resolve of its national council, divided into eight districts, each of which had the privilege of sending four members to

the legislature. The pay of members was established at one dollar per day; that of the speaker being fixed at one and a half dollars, and the principal chiefs were to receive \$150 a year. Some of their principal laws and regulations were—a prohibition of spirituous liquor being brought into the nation by white men. If a white man took a Cherokee wife, he must marry her according to their laws; but her property was not affected by such union. No man was allowed but one wife. A judge, marshal, sheriff and deputy, and two constables, were commissioned in each district. Embezzlement, intercepting and opening sealed letters, was punished by a fine of \$100, and 100 lashes on the bare back. No business was allowed on Sundays; and fences were regulated by statute. They also had a statute of limitations, which, however, did not affect notes or settled accounts. A will was valid, if found, on the decease of its maker, to have been written by him, and witnessed by two creditable persons. A man leaving no will, all his children shared equal, and his wife as one of them; if he left no children, then the widow to have a fourth part of all property; the other three-fourths to go to his nearest relations. And so if the wife died, leaving property. Before the division of the nation into districts, and the appointment of the above named civil officers, there was an organized company of light-horse, which executed the orders of the chiefs, searched out offenders, and brought them to justice. It was a fundamental law, that no land should be sold to the white people without the authority of a majority of the nation. Transgressors of this law were punished with death.

§ 25. BIRTH OF JOURNALISM.

A council held by the Cherokees at New Echota, Cherokee Nation, Oct. 15th, 1825, and the following resolutions were passed:—

> New Town, Cherokee Nation, October 15th, 1825.

RESOLVED by the National Committee and Council, That an agent or agents, shall be appointed to solicit and receive donations of money from individuals, or throughout the United States, for the object of establishing and supporting a national academy, and for procuring two sets of types to fit one press, to establish a printing office at New Town, (C. N.) one set of types to be composed of English letters, the other of characters, the invention of George Guist, a Cherokee.

Be it further resolved, That the agent or agents be required to keep a correct account of his or their travelling expenses, the same to be paid out of the sum collect ed, and said agent or agents shall be entitled to receive eight per cent. on the amount paid over to the Treasurer.

Be it further resolved, That the Treasurer be, and is, hereby authorized to apply fifteen hundred dollars, out of the public funds, towards the objects herein specified; and in case that the agent or agents are successful in obtaining donations sufficient to purchase the requisite types and press, the Treasurer is further authorised to make the purchase as soon as circumstances will permit. In the mean time, the

Treasurer is hereby required to open a correspondence with such person or persons of some of the eastern cities, as may be capable of giving correct information relative to the same, for which the two sets of types and press can be purchased; and the National Committee and Council hereby appoint Elias Boudinott as agent to solicit and receive donations for the objects herein specified; and further, the Treasurer is hereby authorised to appoint other agent or agents, if in his judgment, may be hereafter deemed expedient.

JNO. ROSS, Pres't N. Com.

Concurred in by the council.

MAJOR RIDGE, Speaker.

his

PATH × KILLER.

mark,

CH. R. HICKs.

A. McCOY, clerk Com.

E. BOUDINOTT, clerk Coun'l.

Active labor was put in by the agents appointed for the purpose, and the follow ing year, being assured of the practicability, at the council held at New Echota,

on Nov. 2nd, 1826, the following act was passed:—

New Echota, Cherokee Nation, November 2, 1826.

RESOLVED by the National Committee and Council, That a house shall be built for a printing office, of the following dimensions; 24 by 20 feet, one story high, shingle roof, with one fire place, one door at the end of the house, one floor, and a window in each side of the house, two lights deep, and ten feet long, to be chincked and lined in the inside with narrow plank; with the neccessary watering benches and type desks requisite for a printing office.

GEORGE LOWREY, Pres't pro-tem. MAJOR RIDGE, Speaker,

his

PATHX KILLER,

mark

CH. R. HICKS.

A. McCOY, clerk Com.

E. BOUDINOTT, clerk Coun'l.

Two days later, signed and approved by the same, except that John Ross signed as President of the Council, the following was passed:—

New Echota, Cherok ee Nation, 4th November, 1826.

RESOLVED by the National Committee and Council, That David Brown and George Lowrey be, and they are hereby appointed to translate eight copies of the laws of the Cherokee Nation, as early as convenient, into the Cherokee language, written in characters invented by George Guess, and also to translate one copy of the New Testament in the same characters, and to present them to the General Council, when completed, and the National Committee and Council shall compensate them for their services.

JNO. ROSS, Pres't. N. Com. MAJOR RIDGE, Speaker.

Approved—PATH ⋈ KILLER,

CH. R. HICKS.

A. McCOY, clerk of Com. E. BOUDINOTT, clerk Coun'l. RESOLVED by the National Committee and Council, That Isaac H. Harris be and is hereby appointed principal Printer for the Cherokee Nation, whose salary shall be four hundred dollars a year, and whose duty shall be to attend to the printing of paper to be printed at New Echota; and it shall further be the duty of said Harris to employ, and he is hereby authorised to employ a journeyman printer, of sober and studious habits in behalf of the Cherokee Nation, in order that the aforesaid paper may be successfully carried into effect.

And be it further resolved, That the salary of the journeyman Printer so employed shall be three hundred dollars a year.

And be it further resolved, That the commencement of the salaries of said Printers shall commence and begin on the day of the commencement of the paper, which shall take place as soon as practicable, and that the aforesaid respective sums be, and are hereby appropria-

ted out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated; and it shall be the duty of the Editor, at the expiration of a term, to certify that the printers have well and faithfully performed their contracts as printers, which certificates shall be presented to the National Treasurer for payment, who is hereby authorised to engage the aforesaid printers in an obligation of sufficient penalty for default, for the certain performance of printing the National paper.

ELIJAH HICKS, Pres't N. Com. MAJOR RIDGE, Speaker. Approved—WM. HICKS. JNO. ROSS.

A. McCOY, clerk Com.
E. BOUDINOTT, Clerk N. Com.

RESOLVED by the National Committee and Council, That a person be appointed whose duty it shall be to edit a weekly newspaper at New Echota to be entitled the "Cherokee Phænix." Gwy Jeanga. and also to translate all public documents

which may be submitted for publication, and that the sum of three hundred dollars per annum be allowed said editor and translator for their services.

New Echota, Oct. 18, 1826.

ELIJAH HICKS, Pres't N. Com. MAJOR RIDGE. Speaker Coun.

Approved—WILLIAM HICKS, IOHN ROSS.

A. McCOY, clerk Com.

· E. BOUDINOTT, Clerk N. Council.

RESOLVED by the National Committee and Council, That the salaries of the persons attached to the Cherokee Phænix shall be paid quarterly. This to be an amendment to the resolution providing for their salaries, dated Oct. 18th, 1827.

Be it further RESOLVED, That, in order to provide against inconvenience that may arise for want of paper, ink, or other articles requisite in the printing department, it shall be the duty of the Editor to provide from time to time, the necessary articles as may be needed, which shall

be defrayed out of the proceeds of the Cherokee Phænix.

Be it further RESOLVED, That, the Editor of the Phænix be, and he is hereby required to enter into bond with sufficient security for the faithful performance of all his duties; and that said Editor be and is hereby authorised to receive all monies that may arise from subscriptions for the Phænix, or from the publication of any other matter; he is also expressly empowered to use his discretion in every respect, in order that the Nation may be benefited by the institution. All monies arising from the Phænix shall be paid into the Treasury of the Cherokee Nation, quarterly.

Be it further RESOLVED, That in case of the sickness of the Editor, death or resignation, the Principal Chief shall have the power of appointing a suitable Editor to take charge of the paper in the editorial department whose salary shall be the same as his predecessor's.

It is further RESOLVED, that, in case of sickness, death, or resignation of the Printers, the place or places so vacated shall be filled by the Principal Chiefs. The salaries shall be the same as the former printers. And in order to have a native printer, it shall be the duty of the Editor to procure, if possible, a Cherokee apprentice, whose clothes and board shall be paid out of the proceeds of the Cherokee Phœnix. The clothing of the apprentice shall be common and comfortable. It shall be the duty of the Editor to engage, and make arrangements of said apprentice's board. In the selection of the apprentice, the Editor is required to choose one who speaks and writes the same dialect with the inventor of the Cherokee Alphabet.

New Echota, 19th October, 1828. ELIJAH HICKS, Pres't N. Com. MAJOR RIDGE, Speaker. Approved—WM. HICKS, JNO. ROSS.

A. McCOY, Clerk of Com.

E. BOUDINOTT, Clerk N. Council.

On February 21st, 1828, not five years after Se-quo-yah's alphabet had been accepted by this nation, an iron printing press of improved construction and fonts of Cherokee and English type, together with the entire furniture of a printing office was put up at new Echota, and the first copy of the "Cherokee Phænix" was given to the world. It was the average size of the newspapers of that day, and one-fourth of it was printed in the Se-quo-yan alphabet, and all this at the order of the Cherokee Council. This printing press was the first one owned by any aborigines of this continent. It was owned by citizens, who of all the natives of this continent were the first to invent and use an alphabet of their own, and indeed, it was the first aborigines alphabet that had been invented for over a thousand years, and more than this, they presented to the world the most perfect orthography that this world has ever seen. It was presided over by Elias Boudinot, the first aborigines editor of this continent, though he was aided often in his editorial work by the missionaries of the American Board. The Phœnix was the average size of the newspapers of that day, and one-half of it was printed in the Se-quo-yan alphabet. Some time before the first issue was printed a prospectus was sent out. "The great object of the Phœnix," said the prospectus, "will be to benefit the Cherokees, and the following subjects will occupy the columns: 1st, laws and public documents of the nation; 2nd, accounts of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and their progress in education, religion and arts of civilized life, with such notices of other Indians as our limited means of information will allow; 3d, the principal interesting events of the day; 4th, miscellaneous articles calculated to promote literature, civilization and religion among the Cherokees." Such were the topics that were printed, and that Se-quo-yah read in letters of his own invention in the columns of the

Phænix within two years of the acceptance of the alphabet by the nation. Probably no paper yet printed was received with such profound wonder by the world as this. Copies were in demand from all parts of the country, and the London Times exchanged with it on equal terms.

In the fall of 1828 the Council passed the following:

Resolved by the National Committee and Council, in General Council Convened, That the Editor of the Cherokee Phænix be, and is hereby, required to keep a correct and exact account of all contingent expenses attending the printing establishment, and that it shall be his duty, at the commencement of each session of the General Council. to make a detailed report of the amount of moneys received on account of the establishment, also of the disbursements made, the number of subscribers to the Phænix, and the amount due on account of subscriptions.

Be it further resolved, That the Editor shall select another Cherokee youth of good qualities and capacity, who will agree, with the consent of his parents or guardians, to serve as an apprentice to the printing business, and for a length of time so as to enable said apprentice to become master of the art of Printing, and that the said apprentice shall be clothed and boarded in the same manner as is provided by law for the apprentice now in service, at the public expense.

Be it further resolved, That the Editor be, and he is hereby required, to withhold from the columns of the Phœnix, scurrilous communications which may have a tendency to excite and irritate personal controversies, also, he shall not support or cherish, by publishing communications, or by inserting under the Editorial head, any thing on religious matters, that will savour sectarianism: It shall also be his duty to collect as much original Cherokee matter for the columns of the paper, as his situation and abilities, shall enable

him to do, and to have the manuscript laws printed in a pamphlet form and attach to the printed laws as early as practical, and to have an index to the same. New Echota, 19th Nov., 1828.

LEWIS ROSS, Pres't Com. Concurred—GOING SNAKE, Speaker. Approved—JNO. ROSS.

The publication of the Phœnix seemed to be the key to unlock the intellectual faculties of the nation. On the November following the February on which the first copy of the Phoenix was published, a missionary wrote from among them that it was his opinion that at least threefourths of the Cherokees could read and write in their new alphabet. Publications in their new alphabet were eagerly sought after. "Their enthusiasm is kindled." wrote Mr. Worcester at this time; "great numbers have learned to read and write, they are circulating hymns and portions of the scripture, they are eagerly anticipating the time when they can read the white man's Bible in their own language."

Within five years of the adoption of the Se-quo-yan alphabet, the press at New Echota had turned off 733,800 pages of good reading, which was eagerly read and re-read by the Cherokees. Two years after the number had increased to 1,513,800 pages, and before Se-quo-yah's death in 1842 more than 4,000,000 pages of good literature had been printed in the new alphabet, and not including the circulation of the Phoenix. As early as 1830, this pioneer paper began to forecast the doom that was inevitably to follow. Even the Cherokees had given up all hope of receiving justice from the hands of our government. February 19th, 1831, the Phoenix appeared with only a half sheet. "The reason is," said an editorial, "one of our printers has left us, and we expect another, who is a white man, to quit us very soon, or to be dragged to the Georgia penitentiary for a term of not less than four years, or for his personal safety to leave the nation to let us shift for ourselves. But we will not give up the ship while she is afloat. We have intelligent

youth enough in the nation, and we hope before long to make up our loss. Let our patrons bear in mind that we are in the woods, and as is said by many, in a savage country, where printers are not plenty, and therefore they must not expect to receive the Phoenix regularly for awhile, but we will do the best we can," One month later another printer was carried away to prison, his only misdemeanor being that he was a white man without having taken the oath of allegiance to the Governor of Georgia, who dared to reside within the limits of the Cherokees. In June, 1832, the Phoenix remarked, "The gigantic silver pipe which George Washington placed in the hands of the Cherokees as a memorial of his warm and abiding friendship has ceased to reciprocate; it lies in a corner, cold, like its author, to rise no more." Only three years more was the Phoenix allowed to do its good work. In October, 1835, the Georgia Guard took possession of the newspaper establishment, and its further issue was prohibited unless it would uphold the

course of Georgia against the Indians. Thus perished one of the most remarkable newspapers, both in its origin and results, that America has ever known. But, if the newspaper died ingloriously, far more so was the fate of the editor, Elias Boudinot. In his early days he was a very promising lad, who attracted the attention of missionaries. His name was Weite, but he was given the name of Elias Boudinot after the Governor of New Jersey, and the President of the American Bible Society, for it was the custom for a Cherokee youth to be given an English name when he' entered an English school. Elias Boudinot was one of those placed in the mission school at Cornwall, Conn. He was good looking, and at last, by his pleasing address and manner, became welcomed at the home of many of the first families in that quiet village. Among the lively maidens of the place was Hattie Gold. She was in all respects a sprightly lass, the village pet, and given somewhat to romantic ideas. The young Indian was frequently received at her father's house, and, unthought of by the parents, a mutual attachment sprang up which ripened into love, and it was not long before the little town of Cornwall was stirred to a fever heat by the announcement that Hattie had plighted troth with Boudinot. Her parents were fierce in their opposition, but tears and entreaties were of no avail, and the words were spoken that linked their fortunes for life. Taking his bride back to Georgia, he dwelt among his tribe happily with his white bride, and was conspicuous among his people as a scholar, and one favored by the Great Spirit. His life was a busy one, as he aided the missionaries in their work. translating portions of the Scriptures, tracts and hymns. During the administration of Andrew Jackson, he took a prominent place in administering the affairs of the Cherokees, and especially, toward the last, took a leading part in making arrangements for his people to emigrate from the land they loved so well. Precious to these sons of the forest were their homes, and the burial places of their fathers. While a few favored the treaty of 1835, the majority did not. It is a matter of historical record that the Ridges, Boudinot, Bell, Rogers and others, who signed the treaty, very suddenly changed their minds in respect to the policy of removal. They had been as forward as any of the opposite party in protesting against the acts of Georgia, and as much opposed to making any treaty or sale of their own country, up to the time of the mission of Schermerhorn, as any in the nation. But they suddenly changed their mind, and they were suspected of treachery, bribery and corruption, and the worst passion of the opposition was aroused, and on June 22, 1839, these men were assassinated. Mr. Boudinot was decoyed away from the house he was erecting, a short distance from his residence, and then set upon with knives and hatchets, and survived his wounds just long enough for his wife and friends to reach him, though he was

speechless and insensible to all around him. Thus perished the first aboriginal editor of this continent. Whether he and his comrades did betray their countrymen for gain cannot now be determined, but it hardly appears possible that one who had served his country so faithfully, should at that late day have betrayed his people for gain, or with traitorous intent. Indeed, a careful reader of history must feel, that while he acted not according to the will of many, he acted to what he thought would be their future welfare, and even Chief Ross of the opposing faction, deeply regretted this hasty execution. Let the mantle of charity surround the memory of our first aboriginal editor. Let us not believe him a traitor to the people whom he had long served; let us revere his memory for the great work he was enabled to do toward the enlightenment of the early Cherokees. For a long time there were no further attempts at journalism among the Cherokees. The years succeeding

1835 were years of affliction to this race. Driven out from their land by the bayonet of the white man, they were obliged to take the long journey to their western home, and during the removal nearly 4000 of their race perished. The following years were spent in recuperating and reorganizing, and it was not until 1844 that the nation assumed the publication of another paper. In 1843 the Baptist Mission started a paper called the Cherokee Messenger, that for some years did an important work in the Cherokee Nation. A decade of years had indeed brought about a great change in the condition of the Cherokee people. The mission press had continued to do its noble work, and when the national council had their new press in running order, three separate printing offices were running within the Cherokee Nation. The Council called their new paper the Cherokee Advocate.

§ 27. THE ADVOCATE.

"The object of the council in providing

for the publication of the Advocate." said an editorial in the first issue, "is the physical, moral and intellectual improvement of the Cherokee people. It will be devoted to these ends, and to the defence of those rights recognized as belonging to them in treaties legally made at different times with the United States, and of such measures as seem best calculated to secure their peace and happiness, promote their prosperity, and elevate their character as a distinct community." Realizing their need of assistance outside of the nation, they called for patronage from the citizens of the United States. It promised to be an enlightener of public sentiment, as far as possible, as to the feelings, wishes and proper expectations of the Cherokees. "For," said the opening debut, "ignorance of their condition, opinions and claims, has been to them a fountain of many wrongs, a fountain from which they have been forced to drink many bitter draughts. From this cause, measures of policy in themselves

unjust and highly destructive to their peace and prospects, have been conceived and persisted in to their accomplishment, with singular pertinacity, by those from whom they have a right to expect and claim protection." The executive department of the Cherokee Nation has among its archives copies of the Advocate from October, 1845, to November, 1846, but it continued to be printed until 1853 or 1854, when it was suspended. It did not attract the attention the Phœnix did, as the novelty of Cherokee journalism had subsided, and the nation was further removed from the centers of civilization.

The present Cherokee Advocate was established in 1870, and is the official organ of the nation; it has for its object the diffusion of important news among the Cherokee people; the advancement of their general interests, and the defence of Indian rights; it is published weekly in the English and Cherokee languages, and nothing of a personal,

abusive or partisan character, is admitted to its columns. Since Feb. 10th. 1881, the editor has been required to have one whole page of the paper published in Cherokee, and for this purpose he is authorized to employ two Cherokee boys as apprentices, for a term of two years, who read and write Cherokee and English, and pay them during the ' time a sum equal only to the cost of their board and clothes, and the bill for their services is paid quarterly, by order on the treasury of the nation. The editoris elected by joint vote of both branches of the National Council, and receives from the public treasury the sum of \$600 per annum for his services. It is the duty of the editor to exercise control over the establishment, to furnish such matter for publication, from time to time, as in his judgment will promote the object of the institution. He must see that the material and property of the concern is properly preserved and economically used; he receives the subscription moneys at the

rates fixed by law, but himself fixes the rates of advertising, excepting such advertising as may be furnished by the officers of the nation, or provided by law; he makes quarterly accounts to the treasurer, and an annual one to the Principal Chief, for the information of the National Council, of the condition of the paper and its interests, with an itemized account of its receipts and expenditures. It is his duty also to print and deliver, within a reasonable time, to the Principal Chief, such laws and treaties, as may be required by the National Council; also the blanks required by the officers of the nation, and such other printing as may be required in public service. Before entering upon his duties he is requested to fill a bond of a nature to satisfy the Principal Chief. The Principal Chief also employs a translator, whose duty it is to translate into the Cherokee language for publication, such laws, public documents and articles, as the editor shall select for his paper. He receives \$400 per annum for his services, and like the editor, is subject to removal by the Principal Chief for improper conduct, or failure to perform prescribed duties. Though the Advocate is an eight wide column folio, it is furnished by the order of the nation at one dollar per annum, payable in money, national warrants or certificates, but is sent free to subscribers who read only Cherokee.

The present Cherokee Advocate is destined to be a permanent institution among them, or should, at least, until the great majority of them have an English education, though the reasons why the nation should have an organ will be as strong then as now, should the Cherokees continue to hold their country in common. The paper is ably conducted by Cornelius Boudinot, who is a grandson of Elias Boudinot, the first Cherokee editor, and has J. L. Springston as translator.

§28. VINITA JOURNALISM.

Several attempts have been made at Vinita toward journalism. The earliest

paper was the "Vidett," which was followed by the "Herald." The "Indian Chieftain was started by Ivy & Rogers, Sep. 22. 1882. On Feb. 9, 1883, the paper went into the hands of R. L. Owen and Wm. Hollensworth. May 11th of the same year, it changed hands again, the firm being Owen & Sweasy. Sept. 14. 1883, Wm. P. Ross and Rev. J. W. Scroggs were announced as publishers; July 1st, 1884, S. J. Thompson and M. E. Milford took the paper; Jan. 1st, 1886, John L. Adair became editor, and with Mr. Milford is making an excellent paper.

\$29. UNION PRESS.

As time passed on, it appeared best to abandon the Ossage mission buildings at Union, and it was decided to fit up a portion of them for a printing establishment, where they might print tracts and books, in Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek and Ossage languages. This movement was proposed in 1832, and was carried out the following year. The location was at the Forks

of the Illinois River, and it was decided to remove the press to a more elevated and healthy place, called Park Hill, situated a few miles away. The removal took place on December 2nd, 1836. The influence of this press on the nation, like that at New Echota, had a wonderful effect in spreading abroad the seeds of civilization, which germinated quickly, and brought forth fruit in abundance.

§ 30. BAPTIST MISSION PRESS.

This mission was located at Cherokee, three miles west of the boundary of Arkansas, and the portion of the nation who were connected with it in 1841, resided within a circuit of forty miles on the north, the west and south. In the autumn of 1843, the mission was furnished with a press and printing establishment, which added greatly to its efficiency and its influence with the nation. It was intrusted to the management of Mr. H. Upham, a printer by trade, and at the same time Rev. W. P. Upham became associated with Rev. Evan Jones, who presided over

the mission, in preaching, and in care of the churches and stations. At this press the book of Genesis and about half the books of the New Testament were printed in Cherokee, together with a number of school books, tracts, and other religious works. A periodical known as the Cherokee Messenger was commenced by Mr. Upham in 1844, and was continued for many years, by members of the mission. On this press was printed Bunyan's Pilgrims Progress in Se-quo-yah's alphabet.

§ 30. PARK HILL PRESS.

The Park Hill press was first in charge of Messrs. Archer and Candy. In 1851 the Gospel of Luke was added to the portions of scripture issued from the press of Park Hill. Up to that time, this press had printed the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to Timothy, the epistles of James, Peter and John. The first five and two last chapters of Revelations, and from the Old Testament three chapters of Genesis,

twenty-two Psalms, and twelve select chapters of the Prophecy of Isaiah, a total of 600,000 pages, mostly in the Se-quoyan alphabet.

§ 31. THE DWIGHT MISSION PRESS.

From 1862 to 1886, there was no religious literature published in Cherokee. For a long time Rev. A. N. Chamberlin had been translating passages of Scripture, hitherto untranslated, and several hymns into Cherokee, but there was no way to get them into print. But at last, Miss Delia Palmer presented to the Presbytery of the Indian Territory a little printing press, for the purpose of sending forth little tracts and leaflets, specially adapted to the wants of the people in the vicinity where published. In August, 1886, Rev. Nicholas Neerken started on this miniature press the Dwight Mission Witness, a two page paper, on a sheet 6x9. There was not type enough of a kind at the first issue to print one side of the paper. Like the Cherokee Phænix and the Advocate. one-fourth was printed in Cherokee. No. 2 presented a better appearance There.

were Bible selections translated by Rev. A. N. Chamberlin, and the hymns "Coronation" and "Hold the Fort," translated by the same person. In No. 3, the editor rejoiced at a new case of type. It was the gift of friends. The Presbyterian church at Clifton, Kansas, gave sixteen dollars, and considerable was contributed from various sources, and the Dwight Mission Witness, Kedron, Cherokee Nation, was made a success, and continues printing Mr. Chamberlin's translations of Scripture, hymns, etc., into Cherokee.

NOTE.

In the following pages is the first attempt yet made toward a Cherokee Bibliography. It is in no way a complete one, and perhaps should rather be called a beginning of a Bibliography or a collection of facts about certain Cherokee publications, and works pertaining to this Indian people. In regard to some publications we have been unable to make more than a mere mention, for much of the then existing Cheroke e literature was lost during the war. The increase in their literature today is largely confined to their newspapers and public documents, very little else being printed for them. We have also indexed a few leading articles from such copies of the Advocate as we have on file. It is the hope of the author, now that attention is called to the matter, that they will soon collect and preserve for themselves, and give to the world, a more perfect Bibliography than is possible for a white man to make, who lives outside their Nation.

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Apr. 7, '67, 1000
" 29, '69, 300
Jan. 3, '74, 500
" 6, '77, 250
June 14, '78, 400
July 18, '82, 250
Feb. 19, '84, 250

Church Litany of the United Brethren; prepared and printed by the Missionaries of the American Board, at expense of United Brethren; pp. 12. Edition 300 copies.

Profession of Faith and Covenant of the Church of Park Hill, 1837, by S. A. Worcester. Another edition in 1848.

- Cherokee Alphabet, lithographed, translated and written in large characters with Roman letters indicating the sound of syllables; in board sheets. Boston, 1835. Edition 300.
- Cards, lithographed; translated and written in Cherokee by Mr. Hitchcock of Dwight. 1835.

 Ten Commandments, edition 300.
 Fourth Commandment, 300.
 Eighth Commandment, 300.
 Prodigal son (cuts) 300.
 Star of the East, 300.
 John preaching in wilderness, 300.
- Cheroke e Spelling Book, in Roman letters. Prepared by Rev. D. S. Butrick.
- Cherokee Almanack. 1836—56. Union and Park Hill press. 1836 edition 450, pp. 16. S. A. Worcester.
- Arithmetic, prepared by order of the National Council: Tahlequah, 1870.
- Cherokee Indian History, pages from, as identified with S. A. Worcester, by Miss N evada Couch, of Worcester Academy, Vinita, C. N. pp. 27. Printed in English, 1884.

Laws of Cherokee Nation, 1826. Translated into Sequoyan character by David Brown and Geo. Lowrey; compensation paid for translating, \$72.

English edition of same.

Constitution of Cherokee Nation, 1828. Large pamphlet size.

Journal of the two branches of the Council of 1829. Translated into Sequoyan alphabet by Mr. Edward Graves. Printed also in the Phænix. Translator and printer received 50 cents per day while in actual business during the session of the General Court.

Laws passed during the years 1839—67.

compiled by authority of the National Council. St. Louis Democrat print. Edition 200.

English edition 500.

Laws. 1844, edition 500. English edition, the same.

Laws of 1847–8–9. Edition 200; published at \$1.50 per vol.

English edition, the same.

- Laws, adopted by the Council at various periods. Printed for the benefit of the Nation at Cherokee Advocate office, Tahlequah, 1852.
- Constitution and Laws passed at Tahlequah 1839—51. Tahlequah, 1852. English edition of same.
- Laws compiled and published by authority of National Council. National Advocate print. 1881. pp. 335.

 English edition pp. 370; editions 1000 each.
- Laws and Joint Resolutions of the Cherokee Nation, enacted during the regular and special sessions of the years 1881—2—3. E. C. Boudinot, Printer, Tahlequah, 1884. Edition 500. English edition, 500.
- Genesis. Translated by Rev. Jesse Bushyhead, the father of Chief D. W. Bushyhead.
- Thessalonians. () S. A. Worcester.
- Pilgrims Progress, Translated and printed under the auspices of the Baptist Mission.

Tracts, "Swiss Peasant." (1848.) Mission Press, pp. 16. Edition 5000. E. Archer, printer.

"Negro Servant." (1848.) Park Hill Press. pp. 40. Edition, 5000.

"One Thing Needful" (1848.) pp. 8. Edition 5000. E. Archer, printer.

"Poor Sarah" (1833.) pp. 12. Edition 3,300. New Echota. Prepared and issued by the American Board, at the expense of United Brethren.

"Poor Sarah," (1844.) Park Hill. Mission Press. John Candy, printer.

"Tract on Temperance," written by Boudinot; New Echota. (1833.)

"Evil of Intoxicating Liquor," 2nd edition, Park Hill Mission Press, pp. 22. John Candy, printer.

"Duties of the Marriage Relation." 1833.

"Bob, the Sailor Boy," 1847; pp. 12.

- Tracts. The Dairyman's Daughter," pp. 57. Park Hill. Candy & Archer printer, 1847.
- Present Crisis in the Condition of the American Indians: pamphlet. 2,000 copies printed by Editor of the Phænix, by order of the Cherokee Council. Translated into the Sequoyan character from articles in the "National Intelligencer," a paper printed at Washington, D. C., under the signature of "Wm. Penn;" English and Guess character on same page. 1829.
- Records of the Council of the Cherokee tribe of Indians. Published (in English) for the Nation. This sheet contained a resolution authorizing the building of a two story Council House, and a resolution prohibiting negotiation with the Commissioners from Georgia about the sale of Cherokee lands. Place of publication unknown.
- Emancipation Proclamation of President Abraham Lincoln. 1862. Published in Se-quo-yan alphabet, also in English.

- Address by Elias Boudinot. Printed in English, Philadelphia. 1826. This was upon the progress of the Cherokee people.
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- Analysis of Cherokee Language (in preparation) by Dewit C. Duncan, Vinita, Cherokee Nation. A work designed to perpetuate the Cherokee as a distinct language, the medium of expression being the Sequoyan alphabetical symbols. Part of this work has already received a favorable mention at the Smithsonian Institute.
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- Eonegusski, or the Cherokee Chief. A tale of Past Wars, by an American. 2 vols. in one. pp. 414. 1839. Washington.
- Education among the Cherokees, by W. P. Ross. Journal of Education.
- Historical Caricature of the Cherokee Nation. Lithograph from a sketch by W. A. Thompson, Tahlequah. Vivid. complete in detail and abounding in the ludicrous. Copyrighted, 1885.
- Speech of E. C. Boudinot, a Cherokee Indian, on the Indian Question, Sept. 21, 1871, at Vinita, 8 vo., pp. 18. Washington, 1872. Eng.
- Statement Respecting the Condition of the Loyal Cherokee Indians. A document prepared under the direction of John Ross, Principal Chief, under the signature of Rev. Evan Jones of the Baptist Missionary Union. 1863.
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 Paper covers. (recent.) Printed in Sequoyan alphabet.
- Methodist Church Discipline. (recent.)
 Printed in Sequoyan alphabet.
- Memoir of John Arch, a Cherokee young man. Mass. S. S. Union. 1832. pp. 33. Missionary Herald for Nov. 1828; also one chapter in Se-quo-yah, the American Cadmus, by Geo. E. Foster. p. 113.
- Memoir of Catherine Brown, a Christian Indian of the Cherokee Nation. Boston, 1824. pp '144. Another Boston edition in 1828. New York 1831, pp. 138. Philadelphia, Pa. 1831, pp. 138. An edition was also printed in Choctaw.
- Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the extensive Territories of the Muscogees, or Creek Confederacy, and the country of the Choctaws, together with observations on the manners of the Indian. Dublin, 1793.

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- Advancement of Morals and the Arts of Civilized Life among the Cherokees. Letter of Rev. S. A. Worcester. Missionary Herald, vol. 26:153.
- An Educational Essay, by J. W. Ivey. Cherokee Advocate, vol. 9:22.
- An Appeal in behalf of the Loyal Cherokees. Missionary Herald for 1864 page 100.
- Art of Teaching, by Jno. H. Beck. Read before the Teacher's Institute, at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, June 30, 1885. Advocate, vol. 10:6.
- Are Indians Foreigners? A letter from Principal Chief, D. W. Bushyhead. N. Y. Sun; also in Cherokee Advocate, vol. 11:6.
- Among the Eastern Cherokees, by Rebecca Harding Davis. Harper's Magazine, vol. 61:532.

- Among the Cherokee Indians, by A. M. Williams. Lippincott's, vol. 27: 195.
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Message. First Annual Message of Hon. D. W. Bushyhead, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, delivered at Tahlequah, C. N., Nov. 1, 1879. Pamphlet, pp. 9.

2nd Annual Message of same, delivered at Tahlequah, Nov. 3, 1880. Pamphlet and Broadside.

3d Annual of same, delivered at Tahlequah, Nov. 9, 1881. Pamphlet and Broadside from Advocate. 4th Annual of same, delivered at Tahlequah.

Message. First Annual Message (Second Term) of Hon. D. W. Bushyhead, Principal Chief of Cherokee Nation, delivered at Tahlequah, Nov. 7, 1883. Pamphlet and Broadside.

2nd Annual as above, delivered at Tahlequah, Nov. 4, 1884, Pamphlet, pp. 25. Advocate print. This has an appendix with a statement showing the receipts and disbursements on account of sales of Cherokee neutral lands, under the 17th article of the treaty July 19th, 1886. Also a statement

—showing the receipts and disbursements on account of the sales of the Cherokee school lands in Alabama; 4th article of treaty, Feb. 27, 1819. Also statement concerning funds received from the sale of lands to Ossages Pawnees, Poncas, Nez Perces, Ottoes and Missourias with a statement of the amount and character of Cherokee funds and invested securities.

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- Speech of Chief, D. W. Bushyhead, delivered to the assemblage at Tahlequah, Aug. 8th, 1886, on the death of General U.S. Grant. Cherokee Advocate, vol. 10:12

 Letter on the same by same. vol. 10:11.
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THE CHEROKEES.

THE GENESIS.

What we accept as the genesis of any people is simply traditionary. The legends and traditions of all nations resemble each other in so many points, that they are often compared for the purpose of proving the common origin of man.

The water legends especially bear a close resemblance to each other. The myths and histories of the ancient nations are full of reminders of a deluge. In every region and every clime on the globe the historian meets with traces or traditions of the flood and the favored few.

The Cherokee traditions, as a whole, come down to us more clearly defined and consistent than those of any other Aborigines tribe of America. Still there are omissions, contradictions and suspicious evidences of borrowing. But here the tradition:—

In the time Nu-ta-te-qua, or the first new moon of Autumn, U-ha-li-te-qua, the great-great, or the head of all power, great beyond expression. having also A-ta-no-ti, and U-sqa-hu-la, two other beings of like sentiment and action, in the Great Council House above the gilt-edged clouds beyond the mountains, sat on three seats, which were covered with the purest white fur, and surrounded with trusty spirits. *These three were the proprietors of all things that then

*There is no explanation in Cherokee traditions telling how U-ha-li-te-qua came to exist, nor is there any account of the origin of A-to-no-ti or U-sqa-hu-la or the ministering spirits. As it is stated that they were "the proprietors of all things that then were" it is probable that they believed in multiplicity of worlds.

were, for all that then was by them had been constructed. They were indeed the great-great, for when U-ha-li-te-qua, A-ta-no-ti and U-sqa-hu-la said "live", life came; when they said "die", death followed.

But at this time, they were discussing where to fix their permanent abode and they concluded to first finish their work of creation. The first firmament which they created was some higher than a mountain, but it proved too narrow and too warm and not high enough to behold all their subjects. Then U-ha-li-te-qua, A-ta-no-ti and U-sqa-hu-la built a second firmament that also proved too small and warm but as it proved more comfortable than the first, they decided to keep on building firmaments until they should find one just right. They did so, and in the seventh* they decided to make their home. Then U-ha-li-te-qua, A-ta-no-ti, and U-sqa-hu-la became absorbed into

^{*}For much information concerning the Cherokee "Seven," see the Author's SE-QUO-YAH.

one being as they had been before in sentiment and action.

This being was called YE-HO-WA.

The early Cherokees believed him to be both man and Spirit, a very glorious being, whose name was never to be spoken in common talk. To him bowing toward the East they addressed their prayers, just before the rising sun.

Within the first firmament, Ye-ho-wa created the earth and in it he made a beautiful garden. And it came to pass that Ye-ho-wa and his son—for the earliest Cherokees say he had a son—decided to people the earth, and the time was Nuta-te-qua or Autumn, when the fruits were all ripe.*

Then Ye-ho-wa sent his son to manage the affairs of earth, and he descended to the garden and made two images out of clay, and when he had completed

*This mention of man not being created until the fruits were all ripe was a pretty conception of the early Cherokee, showing the thoughtful foresight of Ye-ho-wa in providing food for the newly created man.

them, his father, Ye-ho-wa, breathed into the bodies, a soul, heart and inwards, and one became a male and the other a female. The clay of which they were made was red; hence this man and woman were the progenitors of the red race.

When Ye-ho-wa breathed into the bodies the breath of life, it was his intention that man should be immortal, but he was deprived of this boon by a young Cherokee woman.* How immortality was lost is thus related. Some moons after mankind was created, a young woman was bitten by a serpent and her spirit fled from her body. The people were

*Thus it seems that the early Cherokee laid their misfortune at woman's door as did the Genesis. It was firmly believed by savage tribes that women had no souls and consequently no place in heaven. Later the place allotted to woman in heaven was a menial one. It was the universal custom among savage nations, when a chieftain died to slay the wives and servants, that their ghosts might accompany him to Paradise. The Cherokees seem to have been the first of our Aborigines nations to acknowledge the rights of women and they are leaders in that virtue to-day.

told that if they could get her spirit back to her body, that her body would live again and general mortality would be averted. Some young braves thereupon procured a box and started in pursuit. The trail led past rocky fastnesses, up shady dells, through forests dark and across green meadows to a silvery river. Here they caught up with her spirit as it was dancing gaily in the sunlight, like a gold winged butterfly over a garden of flowers. They captured her spirit at last and shut it into a box so dark that she pleaded for light. But they hurried on until they reached a point near where the body was, when on account of her peculiar urgency, they removed the lid a very little, and out flew the spirit and was gone—and with it all hope of immortality.

It is related that Ye-ho-wa, before retiring for good into the seventh heaven, instructed the people concerning the practical affairs of life, and unfolded to them the mysteries of the magic seven. He told them that it took seven days to build the world; if they worked on that day,

they or some of their relatives would die; that there were seven heavens: that in their prayers they must raise their hands to the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh heaven, and then express their desire to the Great Spirit who dwelt there. He gave them a prayer to be sung every seventh morning. A little before morning or about daybreak they were to plunge seven times into a stream. On the day of the feast, the food was to be brought by twice seven women; seven of whom were to provide for the men and seven for the women; that the nation should be divided into seven clans; and these clans should fast every seventh day.*

Ye-ho-wa, afterward called the Great Spirit, directed them not to use vulgar lan-

^{*}The seven clans are seven families, each from its own original stock, and therefore too nearly related to admit of intermarriages. The names of these seven clans are as follows: I. Ani-wa-ya, or Wolf clan; 2. Ani-ko-ta-ke-wi, or Blind Savannah clan; 3. Ani-wo-tior Paint clan; 4. Ani-qui-lo-hi, or Longhair clan; 5. Ani-tsis-qua, or Bird clan; 6. Ani-ka-wi, or Deer clan; Ani-stasti, or Holley clan.]—Shield Eater.

guage, and not to tell a lie* as these things were considered wicked.

He then gave the redman a bow and arrow and taught him how to use it; he gave him also a book and told the redman to write in it, but the red man simply made marks, as he could not read; this book he finally took away from the redman and gave it to the white race. Having given his instruction, Ye-ho-wa left Wasi as a teacher and he appeared no more on earth. †Wasi was a Prophet and foretold events. He told them of an approaching flood by which the world would be drowned, also of a shower of pitch, which would be followed by a shower of fire. He also laid down the

*It was made a criminal act by the Cherokee Council in 1824 to give false evidence in court, the punishment being thirty-nine lashes.

†Wasi seems to correspond with Moses of the Genesis. Indeed the Butrick Collections, many of them can hardly be relied upon as genuine Cherokee. It is only too evident that many legends were borrowed from the earlier missionaries, especially from the Moravians, who had been among the Cherokees as early as 1740.

rules of the feast and left instruction for making sacrifice. The early priests offered sacrifice with new fire, having a rack two or three feet high for an altar. "The sacred character of fire was impressed very widely and deeply on the Indian manners and customs. Fire in their minds was regarded in some manner as we should view the opening of a door into the spiritual world. It is believed that its symbolical light is thus thrown on the path of the deceased to guide the footsteps through its darkling way to the land of the dead. That the procurement of sacred fire by percussion, the ceremony of lighting the pipe and the incineration of tobacco therein and its being first lifted toward the sun, prefigured the beliefs in ancient fire-worship, is more than probable".*

*The new fire was made by friction; like the original holy fire it must not be used for common purposes, except when made especially to supply the Nation with fire. No torch must be lighted by it, nor a coal taken from it for common use. When the ceremonies were over it was given to some one to keep.]—SHIELD EATER.

The seventh day was the Priest's day. They assembled all the people at an early hour. Ko-tis-ki gives an account of this feast as follows:—

"No work was done except by women, who brought forward the food. The old men smoke and the young men occasionally dance before them. At usual breakfast time, the victuals were brought by fourteen women previously appointed, seven to wait on men and seven for women. The priests sat on their appropriate white seats; other old men sat on the seats near the middle of the house; other men and boys on seats to the right and the women and girls to the left. The victuals were set on the ground in dishes. before the several seats, and then the waiting women took their seats with the other females. The priests then arose and told the people that the Creator had given them food, and by partaking of it they would be refreshed, and then told them to eat. The repast being ended, the fourteen women took away the dishes.

The leader of the dances was then called forward. He arranged the company in single file: the leader followed by his wife, the next principal man and his wife, and so on, a man and his wife; or, if a man had no wife, he was followed by a single relative who was a near relative or of the same clan. This arrangement might form a number of circles in the wigwam. Being thus arranged, while standing, the congregation was addressed by four priests successively. They occupied the white middle seat. The eldest arose and spoke, holding a white wing of a fowl, by the right side of his face. Together and with other instructions, he charged the people to love and be kind to each other. On concluding, the first took his seat and handed the white wing to the one next to him, and so on until all four had spoken. The white wing was then hung in a sacred place over their heads. The dance then commenced. Toward evening, all being again seated, the same women who had provided breakfast now brought forward dinner or supper, which was served as in the morning; and the night was wholly spent in dancing. None must sleep except the children; after breakfast all returned to their homes."

All were Indians, or red people before the flood, said Nutsawi. They were taught that the people, after death, would be separated, the good from the bad. The good would take a path which would lead them to the happy hunting ground, where it would be always light; but the bad would be urged along another path, which lead to a deep gulf, over which lay a pole with a dog at each end. They would be urged onto this pole. and the dogs, by moving it, would throw them off into the gulf of fire beneath. If they ever got over they would be transfixed with red hot bars of iron, and thus would be tormented forever.

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Tahlequah, Jan'y 20th 1836.

Mr. George E. Foster,

Milford, N. H.

Dear Sir:-

I have the honor to transmit to you, a certified copy of the Joint Resolution, which passed the Senate without any opposition, and would doubtless have passed the lower house had there not been so much business ahead of it that it was not reached. I may assure you that I would have approved it, if there had been time to pass it. Hoping that success will attend all your literary ventures,

I am very Respectfully

D. W. BUSHYHEAD.

PRINCIPAL CHIEF.

[Copy]

Whereas, The National Council has been presented with the life of Se-quo-vah, our Cadmus—the inventor of the Cherokee Alphabet, written by George E. Foster, and, whereas, if there is one man more than any otler whose memory and history should be cherished by a Nation—if there is a single individual on whom a nation can look as a benefactor, it is certainly Se-quo-yah.

Now therefore be it resolved by the National Council:

That we hereby extend to George E. Foster, the author, our sincere gratitude for his effort to preserve the history of our greatest man; for his effort to keep alive in the minds of the American people that there is something good and great in the American Indian.

Dec. 5th. 1885. R. J. HANKS, Clerk.

L. B. BELL, Pres't Senate.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

CHEROKEE NATION.

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In witness of the correctness of which Joint Res-() olution, I hereby sign my rame, and affix L. S. the Seal of the Chcrokee Nation on this 20th day of January 1886.

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